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ABSTRACT

This study examined the career aspirations of Asian American college students, using a retrospective method of data collection that asked subjects to report various occupational alternatives that they have considered in their lifetime so far. Male (N=52) and female (N=97) Asian Americans were compared with a Euro-American group of 95 males and 151 females. Results indicated that Asian American subjects were more likely to consider realistic and investigative occupations while Euro-American subjects were more likely to consider artistic, enterprising, and conventional occupations. Asian Americans also considered occupations that were higher in prestige than Euro-American subjects. Finally, Asian males (but not females) considered occupations that were more traditional in sex type than their Euro-American counterparts. Implications were discussed for theory, research, and counseling. Twenty-two references and four tables are included. (TE)

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Factors Affecting the Career Aspirations of Asian Americans

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Abstract

This study examined the career aspirations of Asian American college students. A retrospective method of data collection was used, and subjects were asked to report various occupational alternatives that they have considered in their life time so far. A total of 52 male and 97 female Asian Americans participated in this study. A White comparison group was used (95 males and 151 females). It was hypothesized that the Asian American subjects would be more likely than the White subjects to consider occupations that are 1) Realistic, Investigative, and Conventional in orientation, 2) higher in prestige levels, 3) more traditional in terms of sextype. Hypothesis 1 was partially supported. The results suggested that Asian Americans subjects were more likely than the White subjects to consider Realistic and Investigative occupations, but the White subjects were more likely than the Asian American subjects to consider Artistic, enterprising, and Conventional occupations. Hypothesis 2 was supported as the Asian American subjects considered occupations that were higher in prestige than the White subjects. Hypothesis 3 was supported for male subjects but not for female subjects, as Asian males considered occupations more traditional in sextype than the White counterparts. The results were discussed in terms of their implications for theory, research, and counseling.

Factors Affecting the Career Aspirations of Asian Americans

In the past 15 years, there has been an increasing amount of research on the career development of different ethnic minorities (Smith, 1983). However, very few research studies had examined the career development of Asian Americans. In a review by Leong (1985) on the career development of Asian Americans, only 3 published research and 2 dissertations in this area were identified, and none of them were in the 1980s. Given the fact that Asian American is one of the fastest growing ethnic minority group in the United States (Sue and Morishima, 1982), there is a strong need for research to provide data and strategies that are essential to helping Asian Americans with career concerns.

One common observation on the career development of Asian Americans is that their occupational choices tended to cluster around some very specific areas. For example, Yee (1975) presented some statistics indicating that over 80 percent of the doctoral degree recipients in 1973 were in sciences and engineering, and 77 percent of Asian Americans pursuing graduate degrees were in the sciences and engineering. These statistics were also confirmed in a recent article in the Time Magazine (Brand, 1987).

Two major reasons were offered in the literature to explain the above observation. The first could be labelled the Personality Structure Theory. Sue and Kirk (1972, 1973) found that Japanese- and Chinese-American students were much less tolerable of ambiguity than the White counterparts, and they were more oriented toward immediate and practical applications than

theoretical and abstract concepts. In another study by Sue and Frank (1973) using the same data base, the authors suggested that Asian Americans as a group felt more comfortable with occupations that requires structured, logical, concrete and impersonal work, and less comfortable with occupations that require forceful expression, interpersonal interaction, and verbal and written communication. In summary, the Personality Structure Theory suggested that there are some personality characteristics of Asian-Americans that push them toward certain occupational areas.

A second theory could be labelled the Social Survival Theory. Sue and Frank (1973) suggested that early Asian immigrants were likely to encourage their children to consider occupational opportunities that could give them the greatest survival value in a White social structure. They were also aware of the possibility of racial and cultural discriminations and oppression, which were more likely to occur in occupations that involve extensive people contact and communication. Occupations in the sciences, engineering, and technical areas are highly valued in the American society, and there are more job opportunities in these areas as well. Consequently, they would encourage their children to consider these occupations.

This study was an attempt to examine the factors that affect the career aspirations of Asian Americans. Specifically, an effort was made to examine the two theories mentioned above. A retrospective method of data collection was used to obtain data concerning the career aspirations of subjects. Retrospective methods were used in the vocational behavior literature to study the career and life plans of women (Harmon, 1971, 1981; Leung &

Harmon, in press), and the predictability of vocational aspirations (Holland, 1963; Holland & Gottfredson, 1975). In this study, subjects were presented with an Occupations List (OL) (Harmon, 1971, 1981; Leung and Harmon, in press) consisting of 155 occupational titles. The responses to the OL obtained from a group of Asian American subjects were compared to those obtained from a comparable group of White subjects. Three specific hypotheses were examined:

Hypothesis 1. If occupational aspiration is an expression of one's personality preference (Holland, 1973, 1985a), and if there is a consistent personality structure that pull the Asian Americans away from occupations that involve ambiguous situations, person contact and interpersonal communication, they would be less likely than the White subjects to consider occupations that are in the Social, Enterprising, and Artistic fields. Rather, they would be more likely to consider occupations in the Realistic, Investigative, and Conventional areas than the White counterparts.

Hypothesis 2. The Social Survival Theory suggested that Asian Americans are encouraged to seek occupations that are highly valued by the society, so as to affirm their values and existence in a White social structure. Consequently, they would consider occupations with high prestige levels, more so than those considered by the White subjects.

Hypothesis 3. Given the emphasis on tradition sex-role behavior among Asian Americans (Sue and Morishima, 1985), Asian American males would show a stronger preference for masculine occupations than their White counterparts. Asian American

females would select occupations that are more feminine than their White counterparts.

Method

Subjects and Procedure

Data from the White subjects were collected from a large Mid-Western University in Spring, 1987. There was a total of 246 undergraduate students (95 males and 151 females) participated.

Data from the Asian American subjects were collected from a major University in the West coast in Spring, 1988. A total of 149 undergraduate students (52 males and 97 females) participated. The distribution of ethnic origins were: 44 Chinese, 12 Filipino, 21 Japanese, 34 Korean, 29 Vietnamese, and 9 from other Asian countries. Fifty-one of the subjects were born in the States, and the remaining subjects had been in the States for an average of 10.48 years.

All subjects were told that this was a study to examine the career and life plans of college students, and they were asked to complete the Occupations List (OL) (Harmon, 1971, 1981; Leung and Harmon, in press) and a demographic questionnaire.

Instruments

The OL consisted of 155 occupational titles. Subjects were asked to indicate whether they have considered (or are still considering) each of the occupation, when did they first consider it, and if they stopped considering it, when and why. Harmon (1971; 1981) used the OL to study the career and life plans of women. It was administered to subjects at three separate times, and subjects were able to recall quite consistent information ~~at different time~~. Leung and Harmon (in press) have also used the

OL to study how prestige and sextype affect the career aspirations of college students.

The demographic questionnaire asked subjects to provide background data as well as information concerning current or tentative choices of academic major and career.

Measurement of Occupational Fields, Prestige, and Sextype

In order to test the various hypotheses, it was necessary to code the occupations in the OL with codings of occupational fields, prestige and sextype. The occupations in the OL were classified into different fields using the Holland Classification System (Holland, 1973, 1985a). The Holland System classified occupations into categories according to their work orientations, which are Realistic, Investigative, Artistic, Social, Enterprising, and Conventional. For each occupation, a high point code is assigned, which represent the major orientation, and two secondary codes, which represent orientations that are involved but are less important. Two experienced coders, both advanced graduate students in Counseling Psychology, coded the occupations in the OL with the Holland occupational codes. The Dictionary of Holland Occupational Codes (Gottfredson, Holland, and Ogawa, 1982) was used as the source reference. The coders agreed on the first of the three codes in 114 of the original 161 occupations (89.5%), and there was complete agreement on all three codes in 126 out of 161 occupations (78.9%). Disagreements on the codes were due to either having multiple codes for the same occupational title, or the unavailability of a comparable code from the Dictionary. The coders discussed on the disagreement, and Holland codes were assigned to the remaining

occupations.

The Duncan Socioeconomic Index (SEI) (Duncan, 1961) was used as a measurement of the prestige of occupations in the OL. The most recent update of the SEI based on the 1980 Census Classification by Stevens and Cho (1985) was employed as a source reference. The values of the SEI ranged from 13.98 to 90.45. A Male Dominance Index (MDI) (Yanico, 1979) was used as a measurement of the sextype of occupations. The MDI is a raw percentage of male workers in an occupation. The MDI used in this study was derived from the 1985 annual statistics published by the Department of Labor (U. S. Department of Labor, 1986). Two experienced coders (advanced graduate students in Counseling Psychology) coded the occupations in the OL with the SEI and the MDI. For 79 of the 161 occupations, exactly equivalent titles (e.g. for the occupation photographer, the same title was found in the source references), the SEI and MDI of the occupations could unequivocally be assigned. For the remaining 82 occupations, which no exactly equivalent titles were found from the sources, the two coders had complete agreement on 54 occupations (64.3%). Many disagreements were caused by using different titles within the same category, and the multiple listing of the same occupation in different categories. The two coders discussed the differences and arrived at codes that were agreed to by both. In six occupations, no appropriate codes were found, and the coders agreed that they would not be included in the analyses. The resultant OL has 155 occupational titles.

The Computation of the Dependent Measures

The process of coding described above was done to compute the

dependent variables used to test the hypotheses. For hypothesis one, a weighted method as suggested by Holland (1985b) was used to translate the Holland codes into aggregate score. The weighted method assign three points to the first letter of a three point occupational code, 2 points to the second letter, and one point to the third letter. For example, if an individual consider the occupation "artist", which has a Holland occupational code of Artistic, Enterprising, and Social, or AES, the individual would obtain three points under the Artistic area, two points under the Enterprising area, and one point under the Social area. This was done for all the occupations selected by an individual, so each individual would have an aggregate score for each of the six Holland occupational areas. Since the number of occupations considered by subjects differed, it would not be possible to use the aggregate scores computed by the above method to test hypothesis one. To make such comparison possible, each of the aggregate scores was divided by the total number of occupations considered by that individual, resulting in six scores called the Mean Weighted Holland Scores. For example, if a subject had an aggregate score of 30 under Artistic area, and 15 occupations were considered, then the resultant Mean Weighted Holland Score in the Artistic area would be 30 divided by 15, which was equal to two. Thus, the Mean Weighted Holland Score represented the average weighted occurrence of a particular interest code for each occupation considered.

To test hypothesis two, two scores, called Mean SEI and Index1, were computed. Mean SEI is the mean of the SEI of all the occupations being selected. This measure provided an indication

of the average preference of occupational prestige. Index1 is the arithmetic difference between the highest SEI and the lowest SEI. This measure provided an indication of the range of acceptable prestige.

To test hypothesis three, two scores, called Mean MDI and Index2, were computed. Mean MDI is the mean of the MDI of all the occupations being selected. This measure provided an indication of the average preference of occupational sextype. Index2 is the arithmetic difference between the highest MDI and the lowest MDI. This measure provided an indication of the range of acceptable prestige.

Each of the three hypotheses were tested in two separate analyses. In the first analysis, the dependent variables were computed from all the occupations selected by each subject. In the second analysis, only occupations that were still being considered were used to computed the dependent variables.

Results

Table 1 presents the grand means of the individual Mean Weighted Holland Scores in all the six Holland occupational areas, based on all the occupations considered by the subjects. A MANOVA procedure was performed using sex ~~(males and females)~~ and ethnicity (White and Asians) as independent variables, and all the six Mean Weighted Holland Score as dependent variables. The effect for sex was significant (Wilks λ =.81, Multivariate F =15.3, df = 6, 339, p=.000), as was the effect for ethnicity (Wilks λ =.87, Multivariate F = 8.0, df = 6, 339, p=.000). The (sex x ethnicity) interaction was also significant (Wilks λ =.96, Multivariate F = 2.6, df = 6, 339, p=.02). Univariate ANOVAs was

performed as follow-ups for each of the dependent variables (each of the six Mean Weighted Holland Scores). The significant main effects ($p < .01$) and interactions were indicated in Table 1. The results generally supported hypothesis one. Asian American subjects had higher Mean Weighted Holland scores in the Realistic and Investigative areas. They scored lower than the White subjects in the Artistic, Enterprising, and Conventional areas. The Asian Americans were also hypothesized to have higher score in the Conventional area, it was not supported.

Insert Table 1 about here

A similar MANOVA procedure was performed using the Mean Weighted Holland Scores computed from only occupations that were still being considered as dependent variables, and sex and ethnicity as independent variables (see Table 2). In this analysis, only subjects who had non-zero scores in all the six dependent variables were included. Significant effects for sex (Wilks λ = .81, Multivariate F = 3.8, df = 6, 102, p=.002) and ethnicity (Wilks λ = .79, Multivariate F = 4.6, df = 6, 102, p=000) were found. Univariate ANOVAs were performed as follow-ups, the significant effects were indicated in Table 2. The results also supported hypothesis 1, as in the previous MANOVA.

Insert Table 2 about here

To examine hypotheses two and three, a MANOVA procedure was performed with Mean SEI, Mean MDI, Index1 and Index2 computed

from all the occupations selected from the OL as dependent variables, and sex and ethnicity as independent variables. The two hypotheses were examined in the same MANOVA because of the potential correlation between SEI and MDI. Occupations with higher SEI more likely to be male dominated occupations, thereby resulting in higher MDIs. The grand means and standard deviations of the four dependent variables divided by sex and ethnicity are presented in Table 3. The effect for sex was significant (Wilks λ=.59, Multivariate F = 68.1, df = 4, 388, p=.000), as was the effect for ethnicity (Wilks λ = .94, multivariate F = 6.0, df = 4, 388, p=.000). Univariate ANOVAs were performed as follow-ups, a main effect ($p<.01$) for sex was found for all four dependent variables, and a main effect for ethnicity ($p<.01$) was found for Mean SEI, Mean MDI, and Index2. The results supported hypothesis two. Asian subjects considered occupations with higher SEI than the White subjects. However, hypothesis three was only supported for the male subjects. Asian male subjects considered occupations with higher MDI than the White subjects, suggesting that they were more traditional than the White counterparts. Asian males also has a smaller Index2 than the White males, indicating that they had a smaller acceptable range of sextype than the White counterparts. For females, the Asian subjects had slightly higher Mean MDI than the White subjects, and they also had a smaller acceptable range of sextype (Index2) than the White counterparts.

Insert Table 3 about here

A similar analysis as the previous MANOVA was performed with the dependent variables (Mean SEI, Mean MDI, Index1 and Index2) computed from only occupations that were still being considered by subjects. Only subjects who were considering at least two occupations currently were included in this analysis, because to compute Index1 and Index2 at least two occupations had to be selected. Sex and ethnicity were the independent variables. The grand means and standard deviations of the dependent variables are presented in Table 4. The effects for both sex (Wilks λ= .81, multivariate F =18.4, df = 4, 388, p=.000) and ethnicity (Wilks λ= .96, multivariate F = 3.3, df = 4, 388, p=.000) were significant. Univariate ANOVAs used as follow-ups suggested that a main effect ($p<.01$) for sex was found in Mean MDI and Index2, and a main effect ($p<.01$) for ethnicity was found only for Mean MDI. There was no difference between the two groups in Mean SEI and Index1. The results supported hypothesis three but not hypothesis two.

Insert Table 4 about here

Discussions

The findings of this study provided some support for the Personality Structure Theory. Asian Americans were more likely than the White subjects to consider occupations in the Realistic and Investigative areas, and less likely than the White subjects to consider occupations in the Artistic, Enterprising, and Conventional areas. Personality qualities such as intolerance of ambiguity, being uncomfortable with tasks that involve

interpersonal communication and forceful expressions, and having a preference for logical and concrete matters (Leong, 1985; Sue, 1981) could contribute to such preferences, assuming that career aspiration is an expression of one's personality pattern (Holland, 1973, 1985a).

However, the results summarized in Tables 1 and 2 also suggested that the career aspirations of Asian Americans as a group were well represented in most of the six interest areas. Since the OL was not an interest inventory, the findings that Asian Americans had higher Mean Weighted Holland Scores in the Social and Enterprising areas than other areas (see Tables 1 and 2) did not necessarily mean that their career aspirations were stronger in those areas, because the OL probably consisted of occupations with strong Social and Enterprising components. But Asian Americans were as likely as the White subjects to consider Social occupations which reflected similar degree of interest in people oriented activities. Also, the finding that Asian Americans were less likely than the White counterparts to consider Conventional occupations did not support the assertion that Asian Americans are more oriented toward structured and unambiguous tasks. Further research is needed to clarify the relationship between the personality structure of Asian Americans and their career aspirations.

This study also supported the Social Survival Theory. Asian Americans considered occupations that are higher in prestige than the White counterparts. The immigration experience, pressure from an earlier generation, and the need to obtain social recognition have pushed them to aspire for high prestige

occupations. One can also explain the lov interest in Conventional occupations among Asian Americans by suggesting that Conventional occupations are generally lov in prestige.

An interesting finding in this study is that while Asian American males were more traditional than the White male subjects in their sextype preferences, but Asian females were less traditional than the White female subjects (see Tables 3 and 4). This further support the Social Survival Theory as Asian females were also encouraged to aspire for prestigious careers which are often less traditional.

It is important to point out that sex differences were found in testing all three hypotheses. While the focus of this study was on ethnic differences, such findings coincide with other research on the sex differences of career aspirations (e.g. Leung, 1988; Leung and Harmon, in press).

Hence, the observed occupational segregation of Asian American could be explained by both personality structure and the need for social valuation and upward mobility. One has to suggest, however, that such a segregation may not be the most desirable for the survival of the group in the long run. Asian Americans have often been labelled the "model minority" (Sue & Morishima, 1982), mainly because of the observed success of Asian Americans in those prestigious occupational areas. Sue & Sue (1987) have suggested that the success story is only true of the high-achieving and educated members of the group (such ~~as~~ the ~~subjects who participated~~ participants in this study), and the stereotyped "model minority" image has resulted in a general lack of interest in providing financial and welfare support for the poor members of

the group, especially the elderly and recent immigrants. Also, the occupational segregation has resulted in very low interest in occupations such as lawyers, politicians, and administrators, which are important social positions to fight against discriminations and prejudice.

In helping Asian Americans with career issues, it is important therefore to explore the full range of possibilities. In the area of interest, it may be necessary to explore and facilitate the development of areas that have not be highly encouraged within the group. Also, while it is necessary to affirm the desire to aspire for high prestige occupations, one also has to take into consideration other factors important to successful career planning, such as values, life style preference, and personal needs.

One of the limitations of this research is that the sample used was a restricted one (the educated and high achievers). The findings cannot be used to explain the career behavior and needs of other Asian American sub-groups, such as the elderly, recent immigrants and refugees, and those who are in a lower socioeconomic group. Also, many (e.g. Leong, 1986; Sue and Sue, 1987) had cautioned against looking at Asian Americans as a unity because of the many diverse elements within the group. Such a diversity was not examined in this study.

More research are needed to examine the career behavior of Asian Americans. The available data on the personality structure of Asian Americans were dated. Including measures of personality and vocational aspirations would provide a direct measure of the Personality Structure Theory. To further examine the Social

Survival Theory, the work values of Asian Americans can be examined to see how a desire for prestige fits in with other work values. Also, research can examine the career aspirations and sex-role attitudes of Asian American women. This study has found that Asian American women were more likely than the White women to consider non-traditional occupations, it would be interesting to see if such a preference is also accompanied by a more liberal sex-role attitudes. Lastly, the career aspirations of the different Asian Americans sub-groups (e.g. Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese) can be examined along with variables such as identity development and degrees of acculturation.

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Table 1

Mean Weighted Holland Scores Computed from the Occupations List (Based on all the Occupations Selected)

	Male		Female	
Variable	White	Asian	White	Asian
WREA[abc]	.86	1.01	.53	.56
(sd)	(.43)	(.50)	(.27)	(.35)
WINV[abc]	.92	1.2	.66	.83
(sd)	(.57)	(.53)	(.40)	(.53)
WART[b]	.84	.59	.90	.76
(sd)	(.50)	(.44)	(.43)	(.48)
WSOC[a]	1.56	1.48	1.77	1.74
(sd)	(.41)	(.41)	(.36)	(.43)
WENT[ab]	1.72	1.58	1.86	1.81
(sd)	(.40)	(.45)	(.39)	(.43)
WCON[ab]	.31	.17	.40	.33
(sd)	(.22)	(.15)	(.30)	(.30)
No of Occ	6.0	4.6	7.1	4.6
N	77	41	139	72

Note. WREA - Mean Weighted Holland score for Realistic area.
WINV - Mean Weighted Holland score for Investigative area.
WART - Mean Weighted Holland score for Artistic area.

(table continuous)

WSOC - Mean Weighted Holland score for Social area.

WENT - Mean Weighted Holland score for Enterprising area.

WCON - Mean Weighted Holland score for Conventional area.

No of Occ = The mean number of occupations considered by subjects.

[a] Main effect for sex ($p<.01$).

[b] Main effect for ethnicity ($p<.01$).

[c] Interaction ($p<.01$).

Table 2

Mean Weighted Holland Scores Computed from the Occupations List (Based on the Occupations Each Subject is Considering)

	Male		Female	
Variable	White	Asian	White	Asian
WREA[ab]	.83	1.03	.57	.76
(sd)	(.61)	(.63)	(.47)	(.61)
WINV[b]	1.09	1.58	.76	1.34
(sd)	(.91)	(.79)	(.74)	(.94)
WART[b]	1.00	.86	.97	.90
(sd)	(.59)	(.71)	(.61)	(.60)
WSOC	1.84	1.66	1.96	2.08
(sd)	(.53)	(.71)	(.59)	(.52)
WENT[b]	2.10	1.78	2.10	1.93
(sd)	(.65)	(.74)	(.62)	(.65)
WCON	.45	.33	.52	.54
(sd)	(.36)	(.17)	(.50)	(.48)
No of Occ	6.0	4.6	7.1	4.6
N*	62	31	90	61

Note: WREA - Mean Weighted Holland score for Realistic area.
WINV - Mean Weighted Holland score for Investigative area.
WART - Mean Weighted Holland score for Artistic area.
WSOC - Mean Weighted Holland score for Social area.

(table continuous)

WENT - Mean Weighted Holland score for Enterprising area.

WCON - Mean Weighted Holland score for Conventional area.

No of Occ = The mean number of occupations considered by subjects.

No of Occ = The mean number of occupations considered by subjects.

* Only subjects who considered at least two occupations currently were included in this table.

[a] Main effect for sex ($p<.01$).

[b] Main effect for ethnicity ($p<.01$).

[c] Interaction ($p<.01$).

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviation of Mean SEI, Mean MDI, Index1, and Index2 by Sex and Ethnicity (Based on all the Occupations Selected from the Occupations List)

	Male		female	
Variable	White	Asian	White	Asian
Mean SEI[ab]	62.7	64.4	58.5	61.5
(sd)	(7.7)	(7.2)	(6.6)	(7.6)
Mean MDI[ab]	67.3	73.0	52.0	55.3
(sd)	(8.3)	(7.1)	(9.4)	(11.3)
Index1[a]	52.7	51.2	58.0	54.2
(sd)	(14.5)	(15.4)	(12.3)	(14.2)
Index2[ab]	61.9	57.3	78.5	71.4
(sd)	(21.4)	(22.5)	(15.3)	(22.0)
No. of Occ.	14.9	12.7	19.8	12.6
N	95	52	151	97

Note. Mean SEI = The mean SEI of all the occupations selected by each subject.

Mean MDI = The mean MDI of all the occupations selected by each of the subject.

Index1 = The arithmetic difference between the lowest SEI and the highest SEI of the occupations selected.

(table continuous)

Index2 = The arithmetic difference between the lovest MDI and the highest MDI of the occupations selected.

No. of Occ. = Mean number of occupations selected from the Occupations List.

[a] Main effect for sex ($p<.01$).

[b] Main effect for ethnicity ($p<.01$).

[c] Interaction ($p<.01$).

Table 4

Means and Standard Deviations of Mean SEI, Mean MDI, Index1 and Index 2 by Sex and Ethnicity (Based on Occupations that Subjects are Currently Considering)

	Male		female	
Variable	White	Asian	White	Asian
Mean SEI	63.4	66.2	61.6	64.2
(sd)	(10.2)	(11.2)	(11.0)	(10.2)
Mean MDI[abc]	62.0	70.4	53.2	54.1
(sd)	(9.6)	(11.0)	(12.0)	(17.6)
Index1	35.2	30.9	34.5	36.9
(sd)	(18.4)	(20.0)	(17.1)	(18.8)
Index2[a]	44.8	35.1	50.2	47.1
(sd)	(23.4)	(22.0)	(23.3)	(25.9)
No. of Occ.	6.0	4.6	7.1	4.6
N*	77	41	139	72

Note. Mean SEI = The mean SEI of all the occupations selected by each subject.

Mean MDI = The mean MDI of all the occupations selected by each of the subject.

Index1 = The arithmetic difference between the lowest SEI and the highest SEI of the occupations selected.

(table continuous)

Index2 = The arithmetic difference between the lovest MDI and the highest MDI of the occupations selected.

No. of Occ. = Mean number of occupations selected from the Occupations List.

* Only subjects who selected two or more occupations from the Occupations List were included in this analysis.

[a] Main effect for sex ($p<.01$).

[b] Main effect for ethnicity ($p<.01$).

[c] Interaction ($p<.01$).